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THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASSORAH.

[Concluded from page 142.]

WHAT proportions this basis had attained will be made more clear after we have inquired in what shape the Scriptures were written down in the time of the Talmud, and what form was given to the Massoretic apparatus. As regards the Scriptures, it will be necessary to direct separate attention to the following particulars:—(1) Letters, (2) words, (3) verses, (4) sections and paragraphs, (5) books, and (6) vowel and accent-signs.

(1.) The peculiarities of the Hebrew square character, led to an ornamentation of the letters in the shape of a spur projecting from the apex. This projection is styled in the Talmud¹ קוץ (thorn), זיון (the name of the letter of that shape) כתר or תאנה (crown), and is identical with the "tittle" or *κεφαλα* of Matthew v. 18. Such flourishes were most commonly appended to letters whose apexes terminated in points, instead of being bounded by a horizontal line, viz., ש, ז, ט, י, כ, ע, פ, צ. Of these ten letters, the seven which formed the mnemonic ש ע ט כ ז ג פ were distinguished by requiring three זיונין;² but א, ו, being silent letters, were not considered of sufficient importance to be so marked.³ In course of time, these flourishes came to possess a mystic import. It is narrated in *Menachoth*, 29 b, etc., that when Moses went up to heaven he discovered the Deity engaged in binding crowns to the letters. At a loss to understand what this meant, Moses was assured that a sage—Akiba the son of Joseph—would one day arise and explain the mystic significance of every single spur. Such

¹ *Menachoth*, 29 b, *Shabbath*, 104 b, *Erubin*, 13 a, *Sotah*, 20 a.

² *Menachoth*, 29 b. At a later period, a simpler kind of ornamentation, consisting of a single stroke, was given to the four letters ק ה ב ד and sometimes א and ו.

³ J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, i., p. 244. Cf. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy's Cat. Heb. MSS. at Cambridge, I., p. 3.

being the importance of these appendages, they were carefully copied in the sacred scrolls, the calligraphy of which was required to be of a particularly neat character.¹

(2.) The text of Scripture was not written as a *scriptio continua*, but the words were separated from each other. This follows from a variety of considerations. (a.) *Menachoth*, 30 a, regulates the amount of space to be left vacant after each word. This single proof (from which also it may be inferred that words were divided by interspacing, and not, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, by interpunction) is as decisive as a hundred, still we may be permitted to add others. (b.) *Sanhedrin*, 94 a, asks, "Why, when every מ in the middle of a word is written 'open,' that in למרבה should be 'closed'?" from which the inference is plain that words were not run into one another. (c.) The Talmud (*Pesachim*, 117 a; *Jer. Succah*, iii. 12; see *Minchath Shai* on Ps. civ.) discusses whether words which end in יה (ידידה, בסיה, הללויה) shall be written as one or two words. (d.) These word divisions obtain in our Synagogue scrolls, which preserve the mode of writing in use in Talmudic times. (e.) *Jer. Megillah*, i. 9, refers to final letters as an ancient institution² (ה'ל'מ), and the use of such letters presupposes at least the incipient stage of word-division. (f.) The word-division followed in the readings of the Talmud closely agrees with that adopted in our *textus receptus*. [We may suppose, then, that the custom of writing the text as a *scriptio continua* ceased shortly after the appearance of the LXX.] (g.) Word-division comes within the scope of *Keri* and *Chetib*, which only takes note of such features as the text presented in Talmudic times.³

(3.) *Verses*.—Although the Talmud knows of such divisions under the name of פסוקים, and they are even referred to in the Mishna (*Megillah*, ch. iv., § 4), yet there were no visible signs for this purpose, such as even primitive Arabic possessed. Versualisation was a matter of oral tradition, and confined to experts—the Scribes and professional readers of the Law. Besides that such divisions are not marked in the Syna-

¹ The rules relating to these appendages were compiled for the use of scribes by some unknown *Nakdan* or *Sefer* in a Massoretic treatise which he styled ספר תאנין. A MS. of this work has been edited by J. Barges and S. Sachs (Paris, 1866). When this work was written is not known, but it must have been anterior to the time of Saadja Gaon, who makes explicit reference to it. It appears originally to have contained also chapters treating of פתוחות וסגורות (See Derenbourg, *op. cit.*).

² Yet they were probably introduced after the date of the LXX., which was made from a text in which there were neither finals nor word divisions. (See Eichhorn, *Einleitung A. T.*, § 73.)

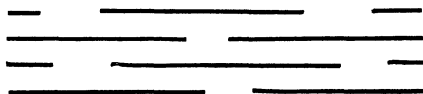
³ Dillmann, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

gogue scrolls, a striking proof is afforded in that passage from *Kidushin* (30 a), which has already been commented upon. It is there proposed to settle a difficulty in versualisation by taking a scroll and counting the verses. To this it is objected that the disputants are not competent for such a task, like the Soferim. Now, had there been any visible marks by which verses were distinguished from each other, the merest school-boy—not to say eminent Rabbins—could have counted the number of them in the Pentateuch.

With the poetical parts of Scripture it was different. Passages like the Song of Moses and the Song of Deborah, were, already in the time of the Talmud, written in a peculiar stichometrical form.¹ The three poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs, and Job—also appear to have been arranged in hemistichs in early times.²

(4.) The Pentateuch was divided into paragraphs or sections (פרשיות), which were either "open" (פרווחות), or "closed" (סרוכות), and at a later period were marked by the Massorites with the initials of these letters.³ The open sections commenced a new line; the closed sections were preceded by only a small space. These intervals, whether large or small, were denominated פסקות.⁴ The Talmud (*Berachoth*, 12 b) describes these sections as being of ancient date,⁵ and they are frequently mentioned in the Mishna.⁶ *Shabbath*, 103 b, prescribes that the distinction between the

¹ Thus



This is called אריח על נבי לבינה ולבינה על נבי אריח. See *Jer. Megillah*, iii. 7, and cf. *Soferim*, ch. xii. *prope finem*.

² See *Soferim*, ch. xiii. 1, and Jerome, *Preface to Isaiah*.

³ When a section commenced any of the 54 Pericopes, it was marked with three such letters.

⁴ *Sifra*, i., § 9.

⁵ כל פרשה דפסקה משה רבינו פסקין.

⁶ *Bikurim*, iii., § 6, *Joma*, iii., § 10, *Taanith*, iv. § 3, *Sotah*, vii., §§ 2 and 8, etc.—The Parasha was not necessarily co-extensive with an open or closed section. At times the word was used in a less definite manner to denote any passage treating of a specific subject, and such is the only sense in which it occurs in the Mishna, which knows nothing of "open" or "closed" Parshioth (Geiger, in *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 197). The term was likewise applied in this wider sense to the Nebiim (*Megillah*, 24 a), and even the separate Psalms are so designated (*Berachoth*, 9 b, 10 a).—These divisions appear in our printed Bibles, but they are only marked with פ and ס for the Pentateuch. Delitzsch and Baer have however introduced these marks into their texts of the Prophets and Hagiographa. (See, in this connection, Ginsburg's Preface to the 3rd volume of his *Massorah*.)—Down to the fifteenth century, the Parasha was the only means of reference used by Jewish writers in citing Scriptural quotations.

"open" and "closed" paragraphs is to be strictly preserved. The object of this paragraphing was obvious. As the *Sifra* states, it was to give the reader pause to reflect on the contents of a passage. At the same time, it was connected with the ancient institution, which tradition traced back to Ezra (and even Moses), of reading the Law in public.¹

The usual distinction drawn between "open" and "closed" sections is that the "open" sections are chief divisions, and the "closed" sections sub-divisions. But this is not the entire difference. It will often be found that the "open" sections are passages appointed to be read on particular occasions, or comprise various important groups of laws, or are passages which have an elevating and pleasing effect on the reader. Passages, on the contrary, which produce a displeasing effect, or which treat of unpopular persons or places, are "closed." Thus the story of the death of Aaron's sons and the account of the death of Moses are "closed" sections. The passages in Jacob's blessing, which refer to the sons of the handmaids, are "closed," the rest being "open."²

These פרשיות should be distinguished from the 54 Weekly Pericopes of the same name into which the Pentateuch has been divided by the Synagogue since ancient times. Sometimes the latter are called סדרות, the term פרשיות being reserved for their sub-division into seven smaller sections. Both should be differentiated again from the סדרים into which the Scriptures were divided by the earlier Massorites, and which are tabulated at the commencement of Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinic Bible. This division is younger than that into פתוחות and סתומות, and is therefore not preserved in our Synagogue scrolls. Still its comparative antiquity is attested by the correspondence which obtains between it and the arrangement of chapters in the Midrash Rabba, parts of which are as early as the sixth century. Approximately speaking, the *Sedarim* may be regarded as the Massoretic anticipation of the Christian division into chapters,³ which dates from the thirteenth century, and was first adopted by Jews in the concordance of R. Isaac Nathan (c. 1400). But they appear to have had an ulterior significance. It is generally supposed that the 154 *Sedarim*, into which the Pentateuch was divided were connected with the Triennial Cycle of the

¹ *Jer. Megillah*, iv., § 1.

² Not entirely; the blessing of Joseph is a "closed" section (see Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 29).—The theory of Dr. Hochstädter (*Ben Chananya*, 1865, Nos. 39 and 40) that ב indicates that the narrative has been taken from more ancient sources, and ד a change of subject, is also worthy of attention.

³ Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, ii., p. 529; Baer, *Genesis*, p. 92.

Reading of the Law which prevailed in Palestine.¹ And as regards the *Sedarim* of the Prophets and Hagiographa, Dr. Hochstädter's theory (*loc. cit.*, pp. 703-4), that they were framed to furnish Haphtorahs for the Triennial Cycle is, perhaps, the best that has hitherto been advanced.²

(5.) The grouping of the Biblical books only partially corresponded to the later Massoretic arrangement. The Bible was divided,³ as now, into *Torah*, *Nebim*,⁴ and *Chetubim*.⁵ The *Chetubim*, again, were divided into כ' ראשונים and ב' אחרונים.⁶ A portion of them were also divided into ג' ב' ג' (Psalms, Proverbs, Job), and ג' ב' ג' (Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations). As has been shown by Strack,⁷ the current opinion that Ruth and Lamentations were originally included in the Prophets is without foundation.

Both Talmud and Massorah recognised only 24 books of Scripture,⁸ reckoning one book of Samuel, one of Kings, and one of Chronicles; Ezra and Nehemiah as a single book, and the Twelve Minor Prophets as one. The view of some of the Rabbins, that the Pentateuch consists of seven books, has already been referred to.⁹

¹ Derenbourg, *loc. cit.*; Friedmann, *Beth Talmud*, iii., p. 6 sq.; Rapoport in Polak's *הליכות קדם*, pp. 11-20; A. Epstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, p. 57 sq.; Ginsburg's *Massorah*, vol. ii., p. 463 a, No. 369; *Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch u. der dreijährige palästinensische Cyklus*, by Dr. J. Theodor in Frankel—Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1885-6; and other authorities quoted by S. Schechter, in *Jewish Chronicle*, January 13th, 1888, p. 6.

² Mention should also be made of J. Brüll's opinion (*Beth Talmud*, i., pp. 108-110) that the *Sedarim* were readings into which the entire Bible (with the exception of some of the חמש מגילות) was divided for daily study. Brüll thinks that the expression פסיק סידרה (*Shabbath*, 116 b, 152 a, *Yoma*, 87 a, etc.), "concluding the reading," has reference to these *Sedarim*.

³ See Prologue to *Sirach*.

⁴ The Massorites termed the Prophets אשלמתה—"completion" (Graetz, *Geschichte*, v., Note 23 II.), "tradition" (D. Oppenheim, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, xi., p. 85)—dividing them into א' בתרייתא and ב' קדמיתא.

⁵ *Kidushin*, 49 a, speaks of אורייתא נביאי וכתובי, whence the later Massoretic formula איניך.

⁶ *Sota*, 7 b.

⁷ *Art. Kanon des A. T.*, in Herzog, 2nd ed.

⁸ *Taanith*, 8 a, etc.

⁹ As at present divided, the Bible consists of 39 books. The separation of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah into two books each is of Christian origin (see Elias Levita's Introduction to his *Book of Remembrance*, printed by Frensdorff in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1863, pp. 96-108). The enumeration of 22 books by Josephus and writers of the Alexandrian school is due to their reckoning Ruth and Judges as one book, and including Jeremiah's Lamentations with his Prophecies. On the other hand, Epiphanius' list of 27 books results from separating the two books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. *Bamid. Rab.*, ch. xviii., reckons 35 books. This computation is made up as follows: Eleven Minor Prophets, Jonah, which is regarded as a separate book, and the remaining 23 books.

The succession of books set forth in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14 *b*) is, for the Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve Minor Prophets; and for the Hagiographa: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles. Our Massoretic Bibles, however, adopt this order: the Earlier Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets (designated פְּתִיחֵי סֵפֶר), Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Scrolls (in the order in which they are read in the course of the year), Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The Spanish codices usually follow the Massoretic arrangement, but the German and French agree with the Talmud.¹

(6.) Were the Scriptures provided with a written system of vowel-points and accents? In the present day, scarcely any one questions the post-Talmudic origin of these signs; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this was a keenly debated question, and "the battle of the points," as it has been called, engaged some of the most eminent scholars on one side or the other.

One of the first to enunciate the theory of their late origin was Elias Levita² in his *Massoreth Hamassoreth* (third introduction). He showed that the current notion that Ezra was the inventor of these signs rested on a false interpretation of the expression פְּסוּקֵי טַעְמִים in *Nedarim*, 37 *b*, etc., which signi-

¹ Elias Levita, Third Introduction to *Massoreth Hamassoreth*. In some codices the books of Chronicles are placed at the head of the Hagiographa. Strack has discovered among the Tschufut-Kalé collection of Massoretic MSS. a passage in a Massoretic compendium, entitled *Adath Debarim* (fol. 33 *b*), which throws valuable light on this point. It is as follows:—דַּע יִשְׁכִּילךָ—הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי זֶה חֲתַכְתָּ הַכְּתוּבִים יַחְלַק י"א חֻלְקִים, דְּבָרֵי יָמִים, תְּהַלּוֹת, אֵיּוֹב, מְשָׁלִי, רוּחַ, שִׁיר הַיְּשִׁירִים, קֹהֶלֶת, קִינוֹת, אֶחָשׁוּרוֹשׁ, דְּנִיָּאל, עֶזְרָא-נְהֵמְיָא (=Ezra-Nehemiah) וְאַנְשֵׁי בָבְלוֹן (=Babylon) אֶרֶץ שְׁנַעַר הַחֲלִיפוּ זֶה הַתִּיקוֹן, מִקְצַתָם שֵׁם (=Chronicles) אָדָם שֶׁתִּאֲנוּשׁ בְּאַחֲרִית הַסֵּפֶר עֵתָה נִתְחַלֵּל בְּרֵאשׁוֹן מִן אֱלֹהֵי הַסִּפְרִים וְאֵן סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר בִּיד הָאָמָה, וְאֵלֶּיּוֹ יֵשׁוּבוּ כָל סִפְרֵי הַקֶּדֶשׁ מִן אֶרֶץ שְׁנַעַר וְזוֹלָתָה (see Strack's article in *Zeitschr. f. Luth Theolog.*, 1875.). For various points connected with the Canon, consult Strack's art. *Kanon*, loc. cit., and Fürst, *Der Kanon des alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud u. Midrasch*.

² He had been preceded on this point (1) by Mar Natronai II. (c. 860 c.E.), who, when asked whether a Sepher Torah might be punctuated, answered that the Law was not given to Moses pointed, but the Chachamim invented the points as signs—לְסִימָן (quoted by Luzzatto from the Machsor Vitry in *Kerem Chemed*, iii., p. 200); (2) by the author of the *Khosari* (iii., 31—see Rapoport, *Erech Millin*, s.v. אָם); and (3) by Ibn Ezra, in his סֵפֶר צְחוֹת (Elias Levita, *Mas. Ham.*, ed. Ginsburg, p. 45).

fies "elocutionary pauses," "traditional cadences," and not a written accentuation.¹

Elias Levita's theory produced little less than consternation in theological circles. It was considered necessary, in the interest of the current views of Biblical inspiration, to prove that the vowels and accents were as old as the text itself. Indeed, Karaite writers had striven to push their origin back either to Adam in Paradise or to Sinai; and even Rabbinical Jews generally attributed their introduction to Ezra. In the circle of his coreligionists, Levita's arguments were opposed by Azariah de Rossi (*Meor Enayim*, iii., ch. 59). But, as may be supposed, the question excited far wider interest among Christian scholars, and particularly divines of the Protestant Church.² Levita's most renowned opponent was the elder Buxtorf, who traversed the arguments of the *Massoreth Hamassoreth* in his *Tiberias*.³

Buxtorf's work gave rise to a more learned treatise on the other side by Ludovicus Cappellus, entitled *The Mystery of the Points Unveiled*. Cappellus' work was answered by Buxtorf the younger, in his treatise on the *Origin and Antiquity of the Vowels*,⁴ and this produced a counter-reply from Cappellus. Into the further history of the discussion there is no necessity to enter.⁵

From the post-Talmudic date assigned to the vowels and accents, it would follow that, during the age of the Talmud, the labours of the Massorites were confined to the accumulation of verbal traditions. Except that here and there a

¹ Some faulty editions of the Talmud appear to have read in the corresponding passage, *Megillah*, 3 a. וישום שכל זה הנקוד (see Bachja on Gen. xxiii. 3). *Nedarim*, 37 a, speaks of שכר פיסוק טעמים, the fee paid to teachers for giving oral instruction in the melody or cadences.

² To Rabbinical Jews and Roman Catholics the vowel controversy was of less importance, because both of these parties could appeal to tradition as an inspired authority.

³ The most important argument of Buxtorf (*op. cit.*, ch. 9) was that the Massorites noted anomalies in the vocalization and accentuation. If they had themselves introduced the system, argued Buxtorf, instead of recording these anomalies, they would have abolished them. This argument is fallacious. Levita nowhere implies that the Massorites invented the pronunciation itself. He merely asserts that they devised the graphic signs by which the *traditional* pronunciation was fixed and preserved. The anomalies they commented upon were obviously not anomalies in their own system, but such as were presented by tradition.

⁴ *Tractatus de Punctorum, vocalium et accentuum in libris Vet. Test. Hebraicis origine, antiquitate et auctoritate*.

⁵ See Dr. P. G. Schneidermann's *Die Controversie des Ludovicus Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen über das Alter des hebr. Punctuation*, Leipzig, 1879; Ginsburg's Introduction to the *Mas. Ham.* of E. Levita; and for the literature of the subject, De Wette, *Lehrbuch d. historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, etc., ed. Schrader, 1869, § 123, p. 214.

few private collections of scholia may have been compiled to assist the memory,¹ the notes and variants were not as yet formally collected and reduced to writing. No doubt the Rabbinical maxim that "things taught by oral tradition may not be written down" (*Gittin*, 60 *b*) would be held to apply to all appendages to the consonantal text of Scripture, excepting, of course, pre-Talmudic marks like the "extraordinary points," and the inverted *Nuns*.

II.

Let us now turn our attention to the post-Talmudical treatise *Soferim*, the contents of which have an important bearing on our subject. Like the other post-Talmudical treatises, it is a Palestinian work, and based principally on decisions contained in the Jerusalem Talmud. It consists of three parts. The first five chapters are a slightly amplified reproduction of the earlier *Massecheth Sefer Torah*. It is a compendium of rules to be observed by scribes in the preparation and writing of Scriptural scrolls. The third part, commencing at chapter x., principally treats of ritualistic matters.² With neither of these divisions are we much concerned. Our interest in the book principally centres in its middle section—chs. vi.-ix.—which is purely Massoretic. While Müller and other authorities are disposed to assign to *Soferim* as late a date as the first half of the ninth century, this Massoretic portion appears to belong to an earlier period—let us say, with Graetz, the sixth or seventh century.³ Hence, a comparison of this middle section with the Massoretic references in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud which have already been described, will enable us to see to what extent the Massoretic system had been developed during the century or hundred and fifty years immediately following on the close of the Talmud.

The lists of *Keri* and *Chetib* have been systematically enlarged (chs. vi. 5 *sq.*, vii. and ix. 8). The *Keri* and *Chetib* of לָא and לֵי in the Torah is separated from that of the Prophets and Hagiographa.⁴ The Massoretic expression וְחִלּוּפֵיהֶן occurs

¹ Like the marginal glosses of R. Meir, already referred to.

² Parts, however, of chs. xii. and xiii. are cognate in subject to the first five chapters.

³ *Loc. cit.* and *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 363.

⁴ Although *Mas. Soferim* furnishes lengthy lists of *Keri* and *Chetib*, with the exception of vi., § 5, no statistics (which form such a prominent feature in the later Massorah) are given.

for the first time in Massoretic literature (vii., § 1, etc.). A critical comparison has been instituted (ch. viii.) between parallel passages in Scripture: Psalm xviii. and 2 Samuel xxii.; 2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. 21 and Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix. Rules are now given, for the first time, as to the unusual form in which certain letters and words are to be written of which the Talmud had taken special note (ch. ix.). Thus the ו of ברוך, the middle letter of the Pentateuch, must be elongated, and the two middle words of the Pentateuch דרש דרש must respectively end and begin a line. The middle verse of the Pentateuch is not, as in the Babylonian Talmud, Lev. xiii. 33, but Lev. viii. 15, 19, or 23,¹ and to mark this the ה of וישחט must be enlarged.² Other majuscule, such as the ל³ of וישליכם (Deut. xxix. 27), and the י of יגדל (Numb. xiv. 17) are instituted. The letters of בראשית⁴ of שמע.....אחד, and of the last word of the Pentateuch⁵ (ישראל) are to be enlarged,⁶ the verse שמע.....אחד occupying a whole line. The י of שרי (Deut. xxxii. 18) is to be minuscular. Numb. x. 35 and 36 are to be written as a separate section, "because they form a separate book, and some say because they are misplaced" (vi., § 1). The stichometrical form in which the Scriptural songs are to be arranged is described in the third part (xii., § 8-xiii., § 3) in fuller detail than it had been in the Talmud (*Jer. Megillah*, iii., § 7, *Bab. Megillah*, 16b).

Shortly after the close of the Talmud the interpunction of verses was introduced. Both *Soferim* and *Sefer Torah* rule that a scroll so marked may not be used in public worship.⁷ The oldest accent was doubtless that which signified the close of a period—the *Sof Pasuk*; and the next oldest the *Ethnach*. Whether these two accents are mentioned by name in

¹ *Soferim* does not indicate which of these three verses is meant.

² ה being the initial of חצי. The direction of the *Massorah Magna* is that the three ו'ישחט in Leviticus ch. viii. shall be variously accented—ומשתנין בטעמא קדמא רביעי תניינא אתנחתא תליתאה שלשלת (*Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 94) appeals to this fact as a proof that the accents could not have been invented when *Mas. Soferim* was written. Had they been in existence, there would have been no necessity, he thinks, to prescribe that ו'ישחט should have been written with a large ה.

³ For an ingenious explanation of this large ל, and of the small י of תשי, see Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 and 94.

⁴ The ב is to be provided with four תנין.

⁵ Thus the beginning, middle, and end of the Pentateuch are to be distinguished by the calligraphist.

⁶ Cf. the *Massorah Magna* on Gen. i.

⁷ ספר שפסקו ושנוקד ראשי פסוקים שבו אל יקרא בו (*Soferim* iii., § 7; *Sefer Torah*, iii., § 4).

Soferim is a question upon which authorities are not agreed.¹

We may assume that as soon as the Talmud was closed and written down, at the commencement of the sixth century, increased attention began to be given to Scriptural and grammatical studies. In Palestine, indeed, such studies had for some time been supplanting Talmudical learning, which found a more favoured home in the academies of Babylon. But even from Babylon philological interests were not excluded. Down to the middle of the seventh century the most intimate relations subsisted between the Saboraim and the Nestorian Syrians, whose schools in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates were in close proximity to the seats of learning of the Babylonian Jews. The Nestorians gave considerable attention to grammatical science, and it is but reasonable to suppose that these studies spread to the schools of the Saboraim.² And when, in the latter half of the seventh century, the Jews lost their interest in Syrian culture in consequence of the Mahommedan conquests in Irak, the tendency which had previously been fostered by contact with the Syrians was maintained and strengthened by contact with the Arabs—partly by the example of the diligent care with which the Arabic language was cultivated, and partly by the controversies into which Jews were drawn with the followers of Mahomet, who insisted that they had discovered references to their prophet in the Jewish Scriptures.

One important outcome of this newly awakened interest in Scriptural studies was the vocalisation of the consonantal text, and the invention of diacritical marks for the doubling of letters and hardening of aspirates. And as a further aid to the understanding of Scripture, the accent-signs, whereby the current mode of intonation was fixed, came into use at about the same time, or not long afterwards.

Of course neither system of graphic signs could have been

¹ For different views on this question and the related one, whether *Soferim* implies the existence of a graphic vowel and accent-system, see Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Fuerst, *G. d. k.*, p. 20; Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 94; Weiss, *דור דור ודורשיו* iv., p. 249; Rapoport, *Aruch*, s. v., אס; Derenbourg, *Revue Critique*, 1879, p. 445; and Wickes, *טעמי כ"א ספרים*, p. 7. These questions principally turn on the correct reading of *Soferim*, xiii., § 1. According to some recensions the passage runs: במפתחות (מצרפן) מרצפן טעמי כ"א ספרים, "the Scribe shall enclose the hemistichs of the poetical sections with open spaces and letters belonging to the contiguous hemistichs (*custodes linearum*).” But of seven MSS. which Dr. Ginsburg has hitherto collated for his forthcoming edition of *Mas. Soferim*, five read בפתיחות בסוף, “with open spaces at the *Ethnachs* and *Sof Pasuks*.”

² Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 399.

introduced at a single stroke. They had to make their way gradually and tentatively. It is most likely, as Derenbourg supposes,¹ that they were first employed in the instruction of young children; and if this was so, we can understand how for a long while the higher academies would take no notice of the invention, so that its origin soon became shrouded in obscurity.

Even in the elementary schools only a few signs would be introduced at first, and like the earliest Syrian נִיחָוֵי, they would be of a "diacritical" character, *i.e.*, employed to distinguish homonymous forms. Such, as Graetz has shown (*Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 348, *sq.*), must have been the original significance of the terms מְלֵעִי and מְלֵרֵעַ which the early Massorites employed to denote differences of vocalisation.

One of these diacritical marks was the *Dagesh*, the invention of which appears to have been anterior to that of the vowel points proper,² for which it partially served as a substitute. This vicarious function it performed whenever, *e.g.*, it was employed to distinguish a *status absolutus* from a *status constructus*,³ or a *Sheva quiescens* from a *Sheva mobile*,⁴ or when it was used to supply the place of one of the *matres lectionis*.⁵

But such diacritical points would soon be found to be insufficient for teaching purposes, and in course of time they would be developed into a complete system of graphical notation. This was doubtless the origin of our present vowel-signs, an examination of which will show that with the exception of *Patach*, they are all formed from various arrangements of points—even *Kamez* being simply a *Patach* superimposed upon a dot.⁶ A consideration of the Hebrew

¹ *Revue Critique*, Jan. 21, 1879, p. 455, *sq.*; Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876; *Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Punctuation*, Cf. Graetz *Gesch.*, v., p. 154; Weiss, *loc. cit.*

² There is a reference to the *Dagesh* of לֹא תִרְצֶחַ without the sign being named in the *Pesikta Rabathi* (commencement of the 6th chapter on the Decalogue), where it is explained as לֹא תִתְרַצֵּחַ.—Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, § 16, note 23. Again, the *Sefer Jezira* (8th century), which, while treating of the mystic import of the letters of the alphabet, nevertheless makes no mention of vowel-points, explicitly refers to the two-fold pronunciation (with or without *Dagesh*) of the letters בְּ, גְ, דְ, כְ, פְ, רְ, שְׁבַע כְּפוּלוֹת בְּגִיד—בְּ, גְ, דְ, כְ, פְ, רְ, שְׁבַע כְּפוּלוֹת בְּשֵׁי לְשׁוֹנוֹת כְּפֻרָּת מִתְנַהֲנוֹת בְּשֵׁי לְשׁוֹנוֹת (iv., 1).

³ As זִכְרוֹן from זִכְרוֹן.—Pinsker, *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punctuationssystem*, p. xiii.; Cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Orient-Bibliothek*, iv., 235.

⁴ Whence the frequent Massoretic use of *Dagesh* in the significance of *Sheva quiescens*, and *Raphé* in that of *Sheva mobile*. See *Mas. Mag.* on Ps. lxi. 9; and *Mas. Fin.* s. v., מְעַשֵּׂר.

⁵ Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 441, *sq.*

⁶ See Derenbourg in *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, ii., p. 303, and cf. Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 403.

term for "vowel," נקודה [Syr. נוקוּה], which literally signifies "a point," leads us to the same conclusion. Hence, the elaborate theory of Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*), which strangely assumes that most of the vowels are formed from letters, as in the so-called Babylonian punctuation,¹ and in the same way as in Arabic, *Dhamma*, *Fatha*, and *Kesré* are graphic developments respectively of *Waw*, *Eliph*, and *Ja*, has by no means commended itself to scholars.

It has already been incidentally suggested that the introduction of a graphic system of vowel-signs was due, principally, if not entirely, to the influence of the Syrians. The reasons for this view must now be given somewhat in detail.²

We know, from the early period to which Syrian MSS. go back, that diacritical points were employed in Syriac long before the introduction of vowel-signs proper. The upper and lower point by which *Dolath* and *Rish* were distinguished from each other has been shown to date from at least the second century C.E.³ And before the sixth century these points were largely used for distinguishing homonymous words and forms.⁴ In particular they served to distinguish strong vowels (o, ā) from weak ones (i, ē), being written above the word in the former case, and below it in the latter,⁵ as the following table of equivalents will show:—

מֶן = מֶן	Interrog. pron.	מֶן = מֶן	"from."
אִידָא = אִידָא	" "	אִידָא = אִידָא	"hand."
לָהּ = לָהּ	"to her."	לָהּ = לָהּ	"to him."
שְׁנָתָא = שְׁנָתָא	"year."	שְׁנָתָא = שְׁנָתָא	"sleep."

This explains why in Massoretic language מלעיל (Syr. מן לעל) is used for *Patach* and *Kamez*, while מלרע (Syr. מן להרע) denotes *Chirik* or *Sheva*.

¹ Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 8.

² The two chief authorities on the Syrian punctuation, etc., are L'Abbé Martin: *Histoire de la Ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens* (*Journal Asiatique*, March, 1875), Jacques d'Edesse et les voyelles Syriennes (*Ibid.*, 1867, I.), *La Massore chez les Syriens* (*Ibid.*, November, 1869); and Ewald: *Ueber das syrische Punktations-system in the Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur*, also in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1837, pp. 205-212, 1839, pp. 109-124.

³ *La Massore chez les Syriens*, p. 101, note.

⁴ The codex Brit. Mus. Addend., 12,150, written at Edessa, as early as the year 411 C.E., exhibits a partial punctuation of this character; so also does Ad. 14,425, written at Amid in Diarbekr, in 464 C.E., the earliest dated MS. of an entire book of Scripture.

⁵ Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, p. 61, sq.

In the fifth century, the Syrians split up into two divisions—the Nestorian schismatics or Orientals, having their chief seats of learning at Nisibis and various cities on the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Western Syrians, known as Jacobites or Monophysites, having schools at Edessa and Antioch and in Armenia. When the Syriac diacritical points grew too numerous and complex to be of service, they were abandoned in favour of vowel-signs. Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, or his disciples, shortly after his death (710 C.E.), adopted the Greek letters for this purpose, but the Chaldæo-Nestorians established a system of vowel points. *This system formed the basis of the Hebrew vocalisation*, or, at the very least, suggested the idea of their use.¹ Several facts tend to confirm this view. The Aramaic terminology of the vowels and accents² (see *infra*), the identity of the term for “vowel” (נקודה) in Hebrew and Syriac, the form and position of the Hebrew *Tséré* and *Chirik* as compared with that of the Syriac *Rebozo* and *Chebozo*, the *o* sound of *Kamez* which prevailed in Babylon (see *infra*), and the double pronunciation of the letters כ, פ, ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ב—all point clearly enough to Syrian influence. Originally the letters בכפת were always sounded as aspirates, even at the commencement of a word, as may be inferred *inter alia* from the LXX.’s transliteration of Hebrew names. The hardening of aspirates took place in the latter half of the seventh century, under Syriac influence; Jacob of Edessa, having invented the *Rukhokh* or signs of aspiration of the letters *b, g, d, k, f, th*, which consisted in points placed below them.³

In regard to the *names* of the vowel-signs, no more probable explanation has been offered than that of Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*). In this scholar’s opinion they were originally imperative forms of Aramaic verbs, having arisen from the directions given to pupils who were learning to pronounce them. Thus, *Patach* and *Kamez* signify respectively “open” and “close” the mouth. *Tséré* imports “open wide” the

¹ The view which Graetz sets forth in his *Die Anfänge der Vocalzeichen im Hebräischen* (*Monatsschr.*, 1881), that the Hebrew punctuation may have been introduced *before*, and *independently of*, the Syrian is based on the assumption—since disproved by Wickes (see *infra*)—that the so-called Babylonian punctuation was introduced earlier than the so-called Palestinian, and was adopted throughout the East. And, inasmuch as the Babylonian punctuation was developed from letters, it is clear that this could not have been based on the Chaldæo-Nestorian system of points. But when it is seen that the Palestinian system was the earlier, and *not confined to the West*, there is nothing to militate against the theory of its having been modelled upon the punctuation system of the Eastern Syrians.

² Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*); Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 20; *Z. d. M. G.*, vol. 27 (1873), p. 148.

³ Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 428.

mouth [Aram. צרא "to tear open"]. *Segol* = "make (the mouth) round" [סגל (Heb. עגל) "to be round"]. *Chirik* is from חרק "to gnash the teeth." *Cholem* = "to press the lips together." *Shurek* is the Hebrew and Aramaic שרק "to hiss" or "whistle"—the sound produced when the lips are placed in a position to pronounce this vowel.

It is generally believed that the vowel-signs were introduced at Tiberias, being the invention of the חכמי טבריה or Massorites of Tiberias, about whom we shall have much to say later on. But there are strong reasons for assuming that they emanated from Babylon rather than Palestine. (1.) The condition of the Palestinian Jews, under the Byzantine emperors was too harassed and depressed to render it likely that they could have invented and diffused such a system.¹ (2.) The derivation of the term *Kamez*, just given, is only applicable to the *o*, or German sound of *Kamez*; and this was the pronunciation which (under the influence of the Syrian *Sekofo*) prevailed in Babylon. In Palestine, on the contrary, as among the Sephardic Jews of the present day, the *Kamez* was always pronounced like *Patach*.² (3.) The authorities of Tiberias are known to have classified the letter ר with the בגדכפת,³ and it has been mentioned that the *Sefer Jezira*—a Palestinian work—does the same. Jewish grammarians, however, do not treat ר under this category, from which it would appear that the system of punctuation on which our grammars are based has not emanated from Tiberias, or any portion of Palestine.⁴

Like the vowels, the accents (טעמים) helped to fix the sense of the unpointed text, the vowel points indicating the meaning of individual words, and the accents showing their syntactical relation to each other. This relation had been expressed from the earliest times by a kind of modulation or cantillation, which was employed both in the school and the synagogue, whenever the Scriptures were recited. The re-

¹ Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, pp. 400, 401: This argument partially anticipates what has to be said later on as to the *period* of the introduction of the vowel and accent system.

² *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 429.

³ Ibn Gannach in ספר הרקמה שער ב' end of "זכריש גם כן ענינים—שער ב'". This double pronunciation of ר which prevailed in Palestine appears to have been due to the influence of the *spiritus asper* and *lenis* of the Greek ρ: Geiger in *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 21.

⁴ Luzzatto (*Dialogues*, pp. 103 and 107, and *Prolegomena*, p. 13, *sq.*), who is of opinion that the vowel signs were the invention of the Babylonian רבנן סבוראי.

ferences to cantillation in the Talmud¹ prove that the custom is at least as old as the commencement of the second century. When, however, *written* signs were introduced, they served the additional purpose of marking by their position the tone-syllable of each word,—whence the name “accents,” by which they are at present known. The origin of the accent system is too abstruse a subject to be treated here. In addition to the works of Wickes and other writers in this department, the reader who is interested in the inquiry may be referred to a suggestive article of Graetz (who here, as on so many other questions of Massoretic history, has done thankworthy pioneer work), entitled *Ursprung der Accentzeichen im Hebräischen* (*Monatsschr.*, 1882). Suffice it to say that in the Hebrew accents, as in the vocalisation, we can trace the influence of the Syrian grammarians, who, as early as the fourth century, had commenced to elaborate a system of interpunctuation, which they completed about the commencement of the seventh century. As among the Hebrews, the Syrian accentuation was used for the purpose of regulating the rhythmical declamation of the Scriptures.²

As to the age of the introduction of punctuation signs, very various views have been held by different scholars. However, the consensus of learned opinion is in favour of assigning it to the seventh century and to the former rather than the latter half of it. By this time, as we have seen, the Syrians had developed their systems of vocalisation and punctuation, and the Syrian and Greek Churches had perfected a method of musical notation. The greater com-

¹ See Wickes' Introduction to his ספרים כ"א ספרים.

² Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 103-156; and *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* (*loc. cit.*); Martin, *Histoire de la Ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens* (pp. 181-2).—It is possible that the influence of the Syrians is likewise to be traced in other departments of the written Massorah. In the seventh and following centuries, the Nestorians and Jacobites produced a work which was strikingly analogous in several respects to that of the Jewish Massorites, and which was denominated “Mashlemonutho” (= Aramaic אשלתא “tradition,”—the Hebrew מסורה). The principal centre of learning where these studies were cultivated was Karkaph, a town near Bagdad, which may not inaptly be styled the Syrian “Tiberias.” Like the Hebrews, the Syrians also noted differences of reading between the Orientals and Occidentals. (See Martin, *Tradition Karkaphienne ou la Massore chez les Syriens* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, II.). Among the Nestorian Syrians, Joseph of Chuzai (sixth century), the first Syriac grammarian, and the inventor of some of the signs of interpunction, compiled an alphabetical list of homonyms (*Art. “Syriac Literature”* in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., p. 836 b), and this may well have suggested to later Jewish Massorites the idea of framing similar lists. The numerical Massorah of the Syrians likewise presents an analogy to that of the Hebrews. See Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, p. 57; Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 213.

plexity of the Hebrew system, as compared with the Syrian, shows that the Hebrew was the later development of the two. Other considerations for fixing the date are: (1.) The Hebrew punctuation, being based on the Syrian, must have been introduced and partially developed before the influence of the Arabians began to dominate Jewish letters, and therefore hardly later than the first half of the seventh century.¹ (2.) Several facts point to the punctuation-system having been highly developed in the age of Asher the Elder, the founder of the famous Massoretic family of that name; and he lived in the second half of the eighth century.² (3.) Aaron ben Asher, who may be supposed to give his father's views, erroneously assigns the invention to the Men of the Great Synagogue (*Dikduke Hateamim*, ed. Baer and Strack, § 16, etc.), so that by the end of the ninth century the signs must have been old enough for their origin to have been forgotten.³ (4.) The well-known answer of Mar Natronai II. (Gaon, 859-869) to the question whether a *Sepher Torah* might be punctuated, favours the same view. He replied that this would not be permitted, because the Law was not given to Moses punctuated, but *the Chachamim invented the points as signs*. The origin of the punctuation was evidently shrouded in obscurity towards the end of the ninth century. (5.) Nissi ben Noach (C.E. 840), and Mar Zemach ben Chajim (Gaon, 889-896) refer to the numerous differences which obtain between the Eastern and Western systems of punctuation. A considerable time must have elapsed since the introduction of written signs before these differences could have grown up.⁴ (6.) The written vocalisation must have been invented by the middle of the eighth century, when Karaism arose; for Anan's principle, "Search diligently the Scriptures," would have been almost an unmeaning formula, had not a system of punctuation to aid the understanding of Holy Writ been already in existence.⁵ The last—and by no means the least important—consideration is this: that the St. Petersburg codex,⁶ which was finished in the year 916, exhibits a perfect system of vowels and accents, together with a Massorah upon them. And it is obvious that some two or three centuries at least must have elapsed from the introduction of graphic signs

¹ Graetz (*loc. cit.*) employs a converse argument, inferring the Syrian origin of the punctuation from the date. The question of origin being the less doubtful of the two, it seems to me that Graetz's reasoning should be reversed.

² See Strack in *Theol. Stud. u. Kritik.*, p. 746.

³ Wickes, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 362.

⁶ See *infra*.

before they could have become in their turn the basis of a written Massorah.¹

It has been shown that the punctuation of the Scriptures emanated, in all probability, from the elementary schools, and likewise that the schoolmaster and the Massorite were often one and the same person; from which it would follow that the vowel and accent signs were the invention of the Massorites. But even if this be not allowed, it is quite certain that a very short time would elapse before the new method would be taken up and elaborated by the Massorites and pressed by them into the service of the Massorah. For, as their materials gradually increased, it must have been found impossible for them to perfect their system without the aid of punctuation marks. As Weiss happily expresses it (*op. cit.*, IV., p. 251), "Vocalisation and accentuation are the two pillars on which the Massorah rests."

Were the vocalisation and accentuation of the Scriptures constructed independently of tradition, as Masclef² and others have asserted? No question can have a profounder interest for Jews than this. For if it be answered in the affirmative, then our current and so-called "traditional" exegesis is deprived at a stroke of all authority and certainty. It was the fear that such might prove to be the case which induced the Buxtorfs and their party to exhaust their erudition in the endeavour to prove that the punctuation was con-nate with the consonantal text. However, there is every reason to suppose that the graphic signs invented by the Massorites were employed for the sole purpose of *fixing the traditional vocalisation and punctuation*. The Massoretic system doubtless reproduced, with as much exactitude as possible, the precise mode of pronunciation and cantillation which had been in force since time immemorial. The substantial agreement in regard to punctuation between the Babylonian and Palestinian schools, notwithstanding that they worked in independence of each other, is itself a proof that the system common to both was shaped on the lines of

¹ Derenbourg notes (*Revue Critique*, June 21, 1879, p. 455), that the *Sefer Jezira* (eighth century), although it treats of the letters of the alphabet, makes no mention of vowels, from which he would infer that they were not introduced before the eighth century. And Zunz calls attention (*G. V.*, p. 264) to the fact that, as late as the twelfth century the word נקודות in Canticles i. 11 is not explained by the Midrash *in loco* to signify *vowel points*, but *calligraphic flourishes*. But we must beware, as Wickes has shown (*loc. cit.*), of pressing the *argumentum e silentio* too far.

² *Grammatica Hebraica aliisque inventis Massorethiis libera*. See in particular Vol. II., ch. 8.

tradition.¹ It was this fidelity to tradition which gave the Massorites their name.

After the introduction of the vowel and accent signs, the development of the Massorah was chiefly carried on at Tiberias in Palestine, where a learned school of Biblical critics had flourished with some intermissions since the close of the first century.² They were known as חכמי טבריה or אנשי טבריה "The (Wise) Men of Tiberias." But the elaboration of the Massorah was not confined to Palestine. The students of the Babylonian academies pursued similar studies independently of their brethren in the West. In the same way as the Babylonian and Palestinian schools differed with regard to their ritual customs, marriage laws, and mode of reading the Law,³ and had separate chronologies, separate Talmuds, and separate Targumim, so likewise there grew up two distinct Massoretic schools—the school of מערבאי or Occidentals, and that of מדרבאי or Orientals. Gradually, however, the Palestinian school overshadowed her rival, and finally extinguished her. So complete, indeed, was this extinction, that the Massorah is often regarded as the exclusive production of the scholars of Tiberias. The differences between the two schools reach back to the third century. They relate to *Keri* and *Chetib*, *Scriptio plena et defectiva*, word division, additions, omissions and transpositions of letters and words; and a few of them concern *vocalisation* and *accentuation*.⁴ But they seldom

¹ Even the conflicting traditions of various schools were at times merged by the Massorites in a kind of composite vocalisation, as יִרְדּוּף (Ps. vii. 6), combining two variant readings—יִרְדּוּף and יִרְדֵּף, and הִקְסֶדָה (Ex. ix. 18), compounded of הִקְסֶדָה and הִקְסֶדָה. As an example of two-fold accentuation (pointing to conflicting traditions of the schools) may be cited אָנָה, which, as in Ps. cxvi., is accented both Milngel and Milrang. Pinsker, *Einleitung*, pp. 12, 13, 156, 157. But see Delitzsch's Commentary on the Psalms *in loc.*

² Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, ch. iv., and Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, § 16, note 27.

³ See חֲלוּף מִנְהֻגִים בֵּין בְּנֵי בָבֶל לְבְנֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל, edited by Dr. J. Müller, Vienna, 1878.

⁴ The statement which has been current since the time of Elias Levita (Third introduction to *Massoreth Hamassoreth*), that these differences do not extend to vowels (or accents) is wrong. Not only do two of them relate to *Mappik* (Jer. vi. 6, עֶשֶׂה Or., עֶשֶׂה Oc.; Amos iii. 6, עֶשֶׂה Or., עֶשֶׂה Oc.),—which may, however, be regarded as distinct from the vowels, and older—but others involve unmistakeable differences of vocalisation; e.g., Zechariah, xiv. 5, where the Occidentals read וַיִּקְרָא and the Orientals וַיִּקְרָא. The well-known variation between מִמֶּנּוּ and מִמֶּנּוּ is another case in point. The Occidentals (like the current Hebrew) made no distinction between מִמֶּנּוּ "from him" and מִמֶּנּוּ "from us"; but the Orientals did. They read מִמֶּנּוּ (pronounced מִמֶּנּוּ) "from him," and מִמֶּנּוּ "from us." And the same

involve any appreciable alteration in the sense. They cover the entire Bible, *including the Pentateuch*, although Jacob ben Chajim's list of 216 variations takes no note of the latter. The Eastern readings generally agree with those followed in the Babylonian Talmud and Targums, while the Western readings as usually follow the corresponding Palestinian authorities.¹

The Biblical and Massoretic MSS. brought from Tschufut-Kalé in the Crimea some fifty years ago by the Karaite chief, Abraham Firkowitsch, and since deposited in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg,² have attained a wide reputation in consequence of a few of their number being marked with a superlinear system of punctuation which before 1840 was scarcely known to scholars. It has been styled נקוד האשורי—נקוד הבבלי—"The Assyrian" or "Babylonian punctuation," in contradistinction to the current system of signs which is known as נקוד ארץ ישראל, נקוד טברני—"The Tiberian" or "Palestinian punctuation," and identified with the Massoretic system of מערבאי. But Dr. Wickes has incontestably proved in his recent work on the Hebrew accents (טעמי כ"א ספרים, 1887), that this view, though held by all scholars who had preceded him, is erroneous. Dr. Wickes establishes the conclusion that this superlinear method of punctuation lies altogether outside the differences between Orientals and Occidentals, and that while it was *an* Oriental system, it was not *the* Oriental

applied to the parallel form אִינוּ. This fact explains the passage in Sota (35 a) : אל תקרא ממנו אלה מקמו, "Read not 'from us' but 'from him.'" See Ibn Ezra on Ex. i. 9; Pinsker, *Einleitung*, pp. 2 and 104; Geiger in *Kerem Chemed*, ix., pp. 69-71. For an example of accentual variations, see gloss on Gen. xxxv. 22 in Ginsburg's *Massorah*, i., p. 292 a. Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 236; and *Z. d. M. G.*, vol. xxviii., p. 676) has noted one difference between Oriental MSS. and our *textus receptus*, which is of the deepest interest; while in the Prophets, the Palestinian Massorites have changed the archaio הוּא into הִיא, in the feminine, the Orientals have left the epicene form.—Several of the deviations from the *textus receptus* in the LXX., and Jonathan on the Prophets, are to be traced to the Eastern readings. (Cf. Pinsker, *op. cit.*, 124, with Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 253, 254.)

¹ In our Bibles, both the Western readings and the Western Massorah are followed. (See Norzi on 2 Kings xviii. 29.) Now and again, however, Eastern readings and glosses of Eastern Massorites have found their way into our Western recensions. (Pinsker, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.)

² For an account of these MSS. see Harkavy and Strack's *Catalog der Hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*; *Die Biblischen u. d. Massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufut-kalé in der Krim*, by Dr. Strack, in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Lutherische Theologie*, 1875; and *Die Tschufutkaléschen Fragmente*; *Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Masora*, by Ad. Merx, in *Verhandlungen des 5 internationalen Orientalistenkongresses*. Part II., Sec. 1, pp. 188-225 (Berlin, 1882).

system.¹ It was merely an attempt to simplify the older punctuation.² Hence the current terms נקוד הבבלי and נקוד האשורי are misnomers.³

Before this paper is completed, it will be seen that Massoretic history is full of such theories—theories which at one time were currently adopted, and have since had to be abandoned in the light of recent research. It has been stated, *e.g.* by Graetz (*Gesch.* v., Note 23 II.) and other writers, that the so-called Babylonian signs were invented by a certain Moses the Punctuator⁴, in the sixth century, and the Palestinian by two

¹ The Babylonians had not a uniform system among themselves. The authorities at Sura differed from those at Nehardea, *inter alia*, as to the division into פתוחות and סתומות, and as to whether הלי (Deut. xxxii. 6) was to be read ה ליי (Sura) or ה ל (Nehardea).—Strack, *Prolegomena*, p. 40; *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 609; Ginsburg, *Massora*, I., p. 611 *b*; De Rossi, *Prolegomena*, § 35; Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 50; *Mas. Mag.*, Nehemiah iii. 37.

² The prevalent opinion that the Babylonian system was earlier than the Tiberian is incorrect. See Strack, *Zur Text Kritik des Jeschajaahs* in the *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.*, 1877, p. 21.

³ The following are some of the chief proofs of the non-identity of the Oriental system, and the superlinear vocalisation: (1.) The Orientals read וְהָעֵנָב in Ezek. xxiii. 5; but the superlinear system has no *Segol*. (2.) Jewish authorities, when referring to the differences (חלופין) between the Orientals and Occidentals never make mention of a superlinear system of punctuation. (3.) The superlinear signs are often found in combination with the vowels and accents of the Palestinian readings (Wickes, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.).—For the opinion that the superlinear system was invented by the Karaites, see Ewald, *Jahrbuch*, 1848, p. 161. The earliest authority who refers to the Babylonian readings is Nissi ben Noah (first half of ninth century):

לאֵלֶּף נְקוּדוֹת וּמִשְׁרָתוֹת וּפְסוּק טַעֲמִים וְחִסְרוֹת וּיְתֵרוֹת לְאַנְשֵׁי שְׁנַעַר (Pinsker, לקוטי קרמוניות, p. 41). The טַעֲמִים עֲלִיּוֹנִים in the Decalogue

are supposed by Pinsker (*op. cit.*, pp. לו, לה) and Fürst (*Geschichte d. Karäerthums*, pp. 15, 16) to be remnants of the superlinear system. But Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., pp. 24 and 25), with greater probability, connects the double accentuation of the Decalogue with the two-fold mode of dividing it into verses, which prevailed in ancient times.—For a further account of the superlinear punctuation and the differences between the Orientals and Occidentals, see Pinsker's *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktation's-system*; Fuerst, *G. d. K.*; Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed*, v. 203, and in *Hali-choth Kedem*, p. 23, sq.; Geiger, *Urschrift, Excursus* iii.; Pinner, *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte u. Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen u. rabbinischen Manuscripten*; Kalisch's *Hebrew Grammar*, vol. ii.; Fuerst in *Z. d. M. G.*, xviii., p. 314-323; Olshausen, *Monatsb. d. Berlin Akad.*, July, 1865; and a few other authorities given in Harkavy and Strack's *Catalog der Hebräischen Bibelhandschriften d. Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, pp. 223, 224.

⁴ אַנִּי יְהוּדָה בֶּן מֹשֶׁה הַנִּקְדָן מִזְרַחִי בֶן יְהוּדָה הַגָּבוֹר.

וְהוֹדִיעֹנִי שֶׁאֲבִיר ר' מֹשֶׁה הַנִּקְדָן הָיָה הַבּוֹדָה הָרִאשׁוֹן לְהֵלֵךְ לְתַלְמִידִים.—Again, למִית קְרִיאַת הַמִּקְרָא בָּהֶם. See Graetz, *l. c.*; Pinner, *Prospectus*, p. 6; Chwolson, 18 *Grabschriften*, p. 124; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 257, 258; Neubauer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, I., pp. 25-28.

Karaites, Moché and his son Moses,¹ towards the end of the eighth century. They have been misled by the forgeries of Firkowitsch, whose services to Hebrew literature have been well-nigh counteracted by the habitual unscrupulousness with which he tampered with documents which passed through his hands.² Indeed such statements are antecedently improbable, for the vowel signs were introduced half-a-century or more before the rise of Karaism, and the so-called Babylonian signs were a later development than the Palestinian.

Equally untrustworthy are the traditions which assign the invention of the Babylonian vowel system to Rab Acha of Irak at the commencement of the sixth century,³ and assert that Rab Ashé wrote a ספר הנקוד הגדול at the end of the fourth or commencement of the fifth century.⁴ The former statement is of Karaite origin, while the latter rests on no better authority than Moses Botarel's Commentary to the *Sefer Jezira*.⁵

Fortunately, some of our sources of information, albeit forming a part of the discoveries of Firkowitsch, are of a more reliable character. The Tschufut-Kalé collection (Codd. Massor., Nos. 9 and 14) furnishes a goodly list of names of authorities who were active during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries in giving completeness to the punctuation system, and developing the superstructure of the Massorah. Of these, the most noteworthy, exclusive of the Asher family, were Rab Pinchas, Rab Jonathan, and Rab Chabib ben R. Pipim.⁶ Rab Pinchas was the head of a Massoretic school at Tiberias. It is presumed that he was identical with a Pinchas who was the seventh descendant of the ריש פירקא Mar Zutra II., who immigrated to Palestine in the early part of the sixth century, and that he flourished in the middle of the eighth century, subsequently to the introduction of the vowel and accent system. But the differentiation of *Sheva* into *Sheva mobile*, and *Sheva quiescens*

¹ מוחה ובנו משה מתקני הנקוד הטבראני. "Moché and his son Moses were the 'inventors' of the Tiberian system," on the supposed authority of Solomon ben Jerucham's Introduction to the Decalogue, quoted by Pinsker (*op. cit.*, p. 62). The expression מתקני may, however, mean—not that they were the *inventors* of the system, but that they introduced it into the Karaite schools. See Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 10; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 255. Graetz has since conceded the spuriousness of this passage. (*Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 403.)

² See Harkavy, *Mémoire de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, xxiv., 8 ff., and Strack, *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 619.

³ Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. מ"ג; Fuerst, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 134, and 135.

⁵ With reference to Botarel's falsifications, consult Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 190 and 247. On the other side, see Pinsker, p. מ"ב.

⁶ Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. ל"א.

had not yet taken place. Pinchas appears to have taken part in this, and to have given the name and form of *Chataf-patach* to the former of these two *Shevas*.¹

Other and less known names are Rikat, Abraham ben Rikat, Abraham ben Perath, Zemach ben Abu Shiba, Zemach ben Zevara, Achijahu Hakahen, Fellow of a College (החבר) at Moeziah (Tiberias), Zemach Abu Selutum, Abu el Umaitar, R. Moshé Moché, Moshé Hanakdan of Gaza, and R. Moshé Gimzuz.²

The allusion recently made to the Karaites suggests the interesting question: What part did they take in this literary movement? Graetz is of opinion that the written Massorah is, for the most part, a Karaite work, and that the Rabbanites did not concern themselves with the study of Massorah and grammar before the time of Saadja Gaon. In favour of this view may be urged (1.) the close affinity between the work on which the Massorites were engaged, and the Ananite principle—"Search diligently the Scriptures." The Massorah was eminently a work which would be likely to engage the attention of the Karaites. (2.) The development of the Massorah after the close of the Talmud had a tendency, as Weiss (*op. cit.*, iv., pp. 242, 243)³ has shown, to undermine Rabbinical authority, in that it differed at times from readings on which the Talmudic exegesis was based.⁴ On the other hand, it may be advanced that (1.) This tendency was not very pronounced, and was more than counterbalanced by the harmony which subsisted between the Massoretic comments and the Rabbinical exegesis in general. (2.) It is highly probable that the very controversies which arose between the two sects would necessitate increased attention to grammatical science on the part of the Rabbanites. (3.) Men who devoted themselves to Biblical studies were often, for this very reason, set down as Karaites; the name קרא being often applied in Talmudic literature to

¹ רב פינחס ראש ישיבה קרא סככים וכו" (Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, October, 1887, p. 439; Brüll, *Jahrbuch*, 1883, p. 44; *Dikd. Hat.*, B. and S., pp. 14 and 84).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79; Strack, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hebräischen Bibeltextes*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736, sq., and *Die Bibl. u. Massoret. Handschriften der Krim*, in *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.*, 1875, p. 612; A. Harkavy, *Massoreten Verzeichniss*, in Brüll's *Jahrb.*, 1876, p. 174; הצפירה, 1874, No. 15; Ad. Merx, *Die Tschufutkaleschen Fragmente.— Verhandlungen des 5 Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Part II., Sect. 1, p. 188-225 (Berlin, 1882).

³ Cf. Luzzatto, *Dialogues*, p. 96.

⁴ For an account of these variations, see Weiss, *loc. cit.*; Jacob ben Chajim, Introduction to his Rabbinical Bible; Strack, *Prolegomena*, pp. 94-111; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, II., p. 1219; M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Art. "Quotations of the O. T. in the Talmud"; טשפחת סופרים, by S. Rosenfeld. (Wilna, 1883.)

one who had made a special study of Scripture, like R. Chanina קרנא (*Ketuboth* 56 a, *Taanith* 27 b), and Levi bar Sisi (*Jalkut* on Hosea, No. 533). The view to which I incline after carefully weighing these pros and cons, is as follows: The activity of the Massorites and the perfection of a punctuation system in the seventh century must have given an impulse to the rise of Karaism in the following century, and it is exceedingly likely that the followers of Anan would be anxious to repay the debt they owed to the Massoretic school by identifying themselves with their labours.

But if the Karaites were prominently, or even partially, associated with the construction of the Massorah, we have to explain how the Massorites came to follow in the wake of Rabbinical tradition, and their system to find acceptance with the Rabbanites. This difficulty has been met by Graetz (*Gesch.*, v., p. 502), who shows that both parties adopted each other's teachings, and, generally speaking, exercised a mutual influence on one another.

It is from the introduction of a graphic system of vocalisation and interpunctuation that we must date the distinction which began to obtain, and gradually grew more marked, between the synagogue scrolls which were used in public worship, and copies of the Pentateuch and Bible for private use. Hitherto, the possibility had to be taken into account that private MSS. might be used in public worship, and therefore the rules for writing them were almost as stringent as those which related to the synagogue scrolls. But now that the text of private Bibles could be vocalised, accentuated and interpunctuated, while no innovations were suffered in the mode of transcribing the scrolls for public worship, the distinction between the two was unmistakable, and there was nothing to prevent it becoming more marked as time progressed. Private Bibles were now usually written in book form. There could no longer be a question¹ as to whether the Law might be bound up with the Prophets and Hagiographa. The *Targums* began to be added, either in separate columns or after each verse. The *Keris* and *Chetibs*, too, which had hitherto been preserved by oral tradition, were now marked in the margin; the vowels of the *Keri* being embodied in the text itself. Then other Massoretic notes were introduced in the margin, succinctly by the side, and at greater length above and below the text. This would seem to have taken place as early as the ninth century, for codices supposed to be written

¹ Cf. *Soferim*, iii., § 1.

in 895 and 916 C.E. exhibit the *Massorah marginalis* in this two-fold form. Such Bibles, when entire, were often known by the name of מחזור or מחזורא רבא "the great cyclical work," and were so called because they were compiled for the use of the Karaites, who were in the habit of reading the entire Bible through in their synagogues in the course of a year.¹

Some account of the two codices just mentioned will be necessary to an understanding of our subject. That dated 895 comprises the earlier and later Prophets, and is said to be still preserved in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo. It was written by Moses ben Asher, the father of Aaron ben Asher, and as its genuineness has not, up till now, been seriously called in question by experts,² it may be regarded as the oldest Biblical MS. extant.³ The codex dated 916 contains the later Prophets only, and owes much of its importance to the fact that it is punctuated with the superlinear signs, being the oldest existing MS. so written. It forms part of the Tschufut-Kalé collection, and was at first deposited at Odessa, where it was described by Pinner in his "Prospectus" (B. No. 3, p. 18, sq.). Subsequently it was transferred to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, whence it became known as the *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*. It has been photo-lithographed by Dr. Hermann L. Strack, under the auspices of the Russian Government.⁴

Moses ben Asher was a distinguished Massorite, and contributed in an important degree to perfect the Massoretic system. But his name has been eclipsed by his still more

¹ Fuerst, *G. d. K.*, note 97, p. 138; Pinsker, לק, pp. לב לא כט. Some scholars are of opinion that מחזור was the name of some particular codex or codices. Baer conjectures (*Genesis*, p. 83, note 3), that it may have been identical with the codex of Ben Naphtali—not an unlikely supposition, considering that there is a substantial agreement between the variants of the מור (see Ginsburg, *Massorah*, i., p. 611 a), and those of Ben Naphtali. Graetz thinks (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, pp. 51, 55) that the Ben Asher codices are so styled. The view of Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 98), that מור signifies a separate book of Massoretic notes, is scarcely probable.

² See, however, Dillmann in Herzog (2nd ed.), Art. "Bibel text des A. T.," p. 397.

³ See *Eben Sappir*, i., 1 fol. 14 a fin. sq.; ii., 186, 187, 221, 225; Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 4, sq. The epigraph is as follows:—אני משה בן אשר כתבתי זה המחזור של מקרא על פי כיד אלהי הטובה עלי באר היטב במדינת מעויה טבריה העיר ההוללה . . . נכתב לקץ שמונה מאות ועשרים ושבע שנים לחרבן הבית השני. The expression זה המחזור proves that Moses ben Asher must have written the entire Bible, though only the Prophets can now be identified.

⁴ *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*. Leipzig, 1876.

distinguished son—Aaron ben Asher,¹ who, together with his rival, Ben Naphtali, is generally credited with having fixed the Massorah (in the form in which we at present possess it) in the first half of the tenth century.²

Aaron ben Moses ben Asher—המלמד הגדול as he is styled,³ —was, as we have seen, the last of a distinguished family of Massorites and Punctuators, extending back to the latter half of the eighth century. Both Aaron and his father appear to have been Karaites, if the views of Graetz,⁴ Pinsker,⁵ Fuerst,⁶ and Pineles⁷ may be regarded as decisive.⁸ Aaron (like his father) is described as a native of Moeziah, which was another

¹ *Cod. Massor. Tschuf.*, No. 9, gives, in addition to the Massorites already mentioned, the family tree of the Ashers as follows:—

Asher, הזקן הגדול, died *cir.* 805.

Nehemiah (Ninphash = נחח בנ ערן), d. *c.* 830.

Moses-ben-Nehemiah, d. *c.* 855.

Asher-ben-Moses, d. *c.* 880.

Moses-ben-Asher, d. *c.* 905.

Aaron-ben-Moses-ben-Asher, d. *c.* 930.—Baer & Strack, *Dik. Hat.*, p. 78; Ad. Merx, *op. cit.*

² Gedaljah (שלשלת הקבלה), Jacob Sappir and others incorrectly place Aaron ben Asher in the eleventh century. See Graetz, *loc. cit.*; Strack, *Prolog.*, p. 44 note; Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

³ In Arabic codices he is called אבנו סעיר.—*Ib.* p. x.

⁴ *Gesch.*, vi., p. 556; *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 2, *sq.*

⁵ *Likuté Kadmonioth*, p. ל"ב.

⁶ *G. d. K.*, i., p. 115.

⁷ דרכה של תורה, p. 271.

⁸ On the other hand, David Oppenheim (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, 1874, p. 79, *sq.*—*Ben Asher u. der angebliche Differenzpunkt in der Betreff der Heiligkeit der Bibel zwischen Rabbinismus u. Karaismus*; *המניח*, 1870, No. 46, p. 365 *b*) has sought to show that the Ashers must have been Rabbanites. Of the same view are Jacob Sappir (*Eben. Sap.*, i., p. 16 *b*, ii., pp. 185-191), and S. Gottlieb Stern (Supplement to *דונש ותלמיד דונש*, Vienna, 1870). Graetz's main arguments are:—(1.) The Karaite, Jehuda Hadassi, speaks of him as a fellow Karaite. (2.) He is styled המלמד—a Karaite title. (3.) The superscription to his דקדוקי הטעמים includes him among the משכילים, again a Karaite title. (4.) In the same work he speaks, in Karaite fashion, of the Prophets and Hagiographa, as if they were parts of the *Torah*. (5.) In the epigraph to Moses ben Asher's copy of the Prophets, it is said that he wrote the entire Bible (מחזור) for use in the Synagogue. The custom of reading the entire Bible in public worship was specially Karaite. [A similar argument drawn from the epigraph to the supposed Aaron ben Asher codex at Aleppo falls to the ground, since it has been proved that this codex was not written by Aaron ben Asher (see *infra*).] (6.) Saadja's opposition to the principles of Ben Asher. On the other side, it is argued that:—(1.) Ben Asher writes from the Talmudical standpoint. (2.) He makes considerable use of the *Sefer Jezira*. (3.) The expression משכיל is not peculiar to the Karaites. (4.) Maimonides would not have set so high a value on the Ben Asher codex had its author been a Karaite. (5.) The Karaites were not alone in regarding the Prophets and Hagiographa as part of the *Torah*.

name for Tiberias.¹ Both father and son devoted themselves to the task of collating Scriptural MSS., and editing them in accordance with the Massoretic rules which they perfected. The work of Aaron ben Asher provoked much opposition from his rival, Ben Naphtali, as well as from Saadja Gaon, the most eminent representative of the Babylonian school of criticism.² But despite their strictures, the codex Ben Asher soon became recognised as the standard text of the Bible. Maimonides expressly tells us in his *Mishneh Torah*,³ that he followed its readings in the copy of the Pentateuch he made for himself in Egypt. Until quite recently, it was generally assumed, on the authority of Jacob Sappir,⁴ that the codex

¹ Inasmuch as in the epigraph to the Moses ben Asher codex, Tiberias is already designated Moeziah, it is clear that this name could not have been derived, as Graetz thinks (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 5), from that of the Fatimite Caliph Moez, who lived in the latter half of the tenth century—unless, indeed, this epigraph is spurious. See Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 81, where more probable derivations of the name are given.

² תשובות על בן אשר, Graetz, v., note 20, I. f.—Saadja Gaon may be regarded as the first who employed the Massorah in the services of Biblical exegesis.—The statement of Elias Levita (Third Intro. to *Mas. Ham.*) that Ben Naphtali was the representative of the Babylonian school of criticism (Ben Asher representing the Western), although subscribed to by most scholars, is quite unfounded. A comparison of the differences between the Occidentals and Orientals with those between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali is of itself sufficient to show the groundlessness of this view. Moreover, Strack (*Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 611) quotes the following Massoretic note to 1 Kings iii. 20, showing that Ben Naphtali sometimes sided with the Occidentals (and Ben Asher with the Orientals): למערב ובן נפתלי ואמתך ישינה מל בן אשר ומדנחא ישינה חם. In Cod. Bibl. Tschufut., 10, also, he has discovered the following Massoretic note to Jerem. xi. 7, where, our *textus receptus* reads—עוד היום הזה, while the Babylonian texts have ועוד, etc.:—

לבן נפתלי ער—

ובכפ מונה ועד לבן אשר (Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, p. xi., note 12, p. 13, note 13). An auto-epigraph of B. N. (Cod. Tschuf. 34, as amended by Firkowitsch, see *ib.*) makes him a resident of *Aram Zobah*, but Ad. Merx (*op. cit.*) conjectures that, like B. A., he lived at Tiberias. In his elaborate paper on the Tschufut-Kalé collection, Merx has attempted to show that there were two rival schools in Tiberias itself; that they flourished from about 650 to 930 C.E.; that Pinchas *Rosh Jeshiba* was the earliest head of the one school, and that his contemporary rival was Chabib ben Pipim; and that the last contemporary heads were Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. The minute character of the differences between the two authorities is in favour of this view.

³ *Hil. Sepher Torah*, ch. viii., § 4.

⁴ *Eben Sappir*, i., p. 12 b. Sappir's statement was followed by Graetz (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 6, and 1887, p. 30), and Strack (*Prolegomena*, pp. 44 and 46). Graetz has since accepted Wickes' conclusion (*Monatsschr.*, Oct., 1887, p. 434, note). The lengthy epigraph to this codex, which is as follows,

זה המצחף השלם של עשרים וארבעה ספרים שכתב אותו מרי ורבנא שלמה הנודע בבן בויאעא הסופר המהיר רוח ה' תניחנו ונקד ומסר אותו באר הטיב המלמד הנדול החכם הנבון אדון הסופרים ואבי החכמים וראש המלמדים המהיר במעשיו המבין במפעליו היחיד

Ben Asher had been preserved in the Karaite synagogue at Aleppo. This opinion has now been disproved by Dr. Wickes in his recent work on the Prose Accentuation, already referred to (pp. vii.-ix.). This splendid scholar has shown that the Aleppo codex exhibits readings at variance with the well-known principles of Ben Asher.

Aaron ben Asher¹ likewise wrote short treatises on the vowel points and accents, the consonants, *Dagesh* and *Raphé*, in which he employed the results of the Massorah, and at the same time laid the foundation of the grammatical studies of his successors. These treatises are embodied in a work, partly Massoretic and partly grammatical, written in obscure Neo-Hebraic rhymes. The work is variously known as *דקדוקי המעמים* or *קונטרס המסורת*. It was printed in the first edition of the Bomberg Rabbinical Bible (Venice, 1518) with the superscription *זה הספר מדקדוקי המעמים שהחביר ר' אהרן בן אשר ממקום מעזיה הנקראת טבריה ו'כ"ו*.² He also compiled a list of "Eighty Homonyms" (*שמונים זוגים*)³ which was afterwards incorporated in the *Massorah Finalis*, s. v., 'א and the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*.⁴ Aaron ben Asher may be regarded as the connecting link between the Massorites and the Grammarians.⁵

בדורותיו מר רב אהרן בר מר רב אשר הנצ"ב. Equally untrustworthy is the statement of Samuel ben Jacob that he copied the complete Bible codex of the year 1010 (1009) from Aaron ben Asher's Bible:—*שמואל בן יעקב כתב ונקד ומסר את המחזור הזה שלמך מן הספרים המונהים המבואר אשר עשה המלמד אהרן בן משה בן אשר : והוא מונה באר היטב*. (*Cod. Bibl. Hebr. Petropol.* B. 19 a, p. 479 a; see Harkavy and Strack's *Catal.*, p. 263 sq., and Pinner's *Prospectus*, p. 86 sq.). This statement is disproved by the several deviations from the usage of Ben Asher, which the codex presents in regard to *Metheg*, *Chataf patach* and *Dagesh lene*: Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

¹ Or his father (Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 10, sq.). Even the "variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali" (see *infra*) might, Graetz supposes, be ascribed to the father equally as well as to the son.

² The work has since been separately edited (*a*) by Leopold Dukes, under the title of *קונטרס המסורת המיוחס לבן אשר ז"ל ו'כ"ו* (Tübingen, 1846); and (*b*) by Baer and Strack (*ספר דקדוקי המעמים לר' אהרן בן משה בן אשר*) (Leipzig, 1879). Kimchi often cites a *מחברת בן אשר*; but Baer conjectures that this is a misreading for *בלעם*. *Op. cit.* p. 14, note 17.

³ Hadassi, *Eshkol Hakopher*, Nos. 163, 173,—*כאשר חקרתי וחקקתי ספר-תרין בתרין תוספת על שמונים זוגות לבן אשר*.

⁴ No. 59,—*א"ב מן תרין תרין ותרייהון תרין לישנין*. The *Massorah Finalis* and the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah* enumerate ninety-nine assonances.

⁵ The relation between Massorah and Grammar is to be inferred *inter alia*, from the expression *דקדוק*, which originally meant nothing more than "precision," "exactitude," such as distinguished the labours of the Massoretic transcribers of the Bible.—Steinschneider, *J. L.*, § 16, p. 138.

Jacob ben Naphtali¹ was a contemporary of Aaron ben Asher, and probably, as Merx supposes (see *supra*), the head of a rival Massoretic school in Tiberias. He prepared a revised text of Scripture in opposition to Ben Asher, but his proposed readings attained to little authority. The Ben Naphtali codex can no longer be identified, but a considerable number of its readings have been preserved in the writings of Kimchi, Norzi, and others, and in marginal glosses. The controversy between the two authorities principally turns on the use of *Metheg*, but their differences also relate to vowels and accents, and a few even extend to consonantal spelling.² Although the codex of Ben Asher was adopted as the standard authority of the Occidentals, there were a small number of cases in which the readings of Ben Naphtali were preferred. Thus, in Gen. xxvii. 13, the *textus receptus* has חֲלָלָהּ, according to Ben Naphtali, whereas Ben Asher read חָלָלָהּ; and in Psalm xlv. 10, the reading of Ben Naphtali (בִּיקְרוֹתֶיהָ) is followed in preference to בִּיקְרוֹתֶיהָ (Ben Asher).³ An account of the differences, amounting to 864,⁴ is given in the Rabbinical Bibles, under the heading of חלופין בין בן אשר ובין בן נפתלי.

The labours of Ben Asher had the effect of rapidly driving variant and incorrect texts out of circulation, besides reducing the number of variations between the מערבאי and מדנחאי.⁵ Still the text was not immediately freed from divergencies,

¹ So Elias Levita (Third Introduction to *Mas. Ham.*), Norzi (Gen. i. 3), etc. But R. Gedaliah styles him in the שלשלת הקבלה R. Moses ben David Naphtali. Similarly, Codd. Mass. Tschuf. 2 and 3 :—B. & S., *op. cit.*, p. xi. note.

² Strack, *Luth. Zeitschr.*, p. 611, note 1; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 260, note 10.—Generally speaking, however, the consonantal text, at the commencement of the 10th century, was already regarded as immutably fixed. See Ad. Merx, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³ Not, however, by Baer, who has latterly restored the Ben Asher reading to the text (see Preface to his Psalms, 1880, p. vii.).—The difference between the two readings is important, for that of Ben Asher guards us against the error into which Saadja and others have fallen of connecting the word with בקרת, “a female slave.” Ben Naphtali follows the rule (which likewise obtains in Syriac—whence Geiger would infer that he was a Babylonian)—that when the prefixes ב, כ, ל, ו precede י, with a *Chirik*, the *Chirik* is transferred to the prefix, and loses its consonantal force. Accordingly he reads לִיקָהָת in Prov. xxx. 17, where he is again followed by the *textus receptus*. Elsewhere, however (in forms such as בִּירָאָה, וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ, לִירָאָה, בִּישְׁתַּחֲוּ) Ben Asher's readings are followed: Geiger, *Jud. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 10; *Dik. Hat.*, § 13.

⁴ More exactly 867. See Strack, *Prol.*, p. 27.

⁵ See Graetz, v., p. 504, note 1.

as may be seen from the works of some of the Nakdanim and earlier commentators, which now and again differ in their readings from the present *textus receptus*.¹

III.

These rival authorities practically brought the Massorah to a close. Yet slight additions continued to be made. Passing over the earlier grammarians—Menachem ben Saruk, Dunash ben Labrat, Jehudah Chajug, Ibn Gannach, Kimchi² and others, we come to the Nakdanim,³ or Punctuators, who, rather than the Grammarians proper, are to be regarded as the successors of the Massorites.

The name Nakdan was not new. Originally it had been applied to those who had made a study of vocalisation, or had been instrumental in fixing a system of written vowels.⁴ But subsequently the word began to serve as an official title of the scholar who revised the work of the copyist, added the vowels and accents (generally in fainter ink and with a finer pen⁵), and likewise the Massorah. Being well versed in the rules of grammar, he was sometimes styled *Deikan*. Not infrequently, he combined with his labours the duties of Chazan and schoolmaster. The appellation came into regular use towards the end of the twelfth century. From this time down to the end of the fourteenth century, a long succession of Nakdanim, beginning with Rabenu Tam, flourished, of whom the most important were,⁶ Nathaniel ben Mashullum, of Mayence,⁷ Moses ben Isaac, Hanakdan or Hachazan, of London,⁸

¹ Jacob ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinical Bible; Cappellanus, *Mare Rabbinicum Infidum*, ch. vi.; Kennicott, *Diss Gen.*, § 50 sq.; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, § 16, note 26; Luzzatto, *Dialogues*, p. 189; Steinschneider in Frankel's *Zeitschr.*, i., p. 359; Kirchheim, *Lit. Bl.*, v., p. 694.

² Kimchi compiled a Massoretic treatise, entitled עט סופר, which is often referred to in the margins of Spanish codices of the Pentateuch.

³ Or *Menakdim* (?); see Neubauer in Graetz's *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 303, and cf. Baer and Strack, *דקדוקי המעמים*, § 69.

⁴ As משה העוזי הנקדן "Moses the Punctuator of Gaza." (Cod. Mass. Tschuf., No. 9.)

⁵ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, § 347.

⁶ See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, ch. iv., and pp. 201-203, and Steinschneider, *J.L.*, § 16, p. 139.

⁷ Author of a work on the Biblical accents, which is not, as has been supposed, a translation of Jehuda ben Balaam's הוריות הקורא. See Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, II., p. 503.

⁸ Author of הנקוד והניניות, printed in the Rabbinical Bible round the margin of the *Massorah finalis*, and otherwise styled כללי הנקוד, or שערי הנקוד והניניות. He is perhaps, as Geiger supposes (*Wissenschaftl. Zeitschr.*

Simson Hanakdan,¹ and Salmon Hanakdan, otherwise named Jekuthiel ben Jehudah Hakohen.² But the actual additions of the Nakdanim to the Massorah were insignificant.

Reference has already been made to the two-fold form which the written Massorah assumed as early as the ninth century. In the course of time, special names would be introduced for these separate Massorahs. The curt notes in the upright margins were styled *מסורה קטנה*, and the fuller notes above or below the text *מסורה גדולה* or *רברה*. Besides these marginal notes, the Massorah included "lists" of words or groups of words which possessed some feature in common, catalogues of phrases, verbal forms, variations and parallelisms of various kinds, together with rules of more or less general import. These lists were usually drawn up in alphabetical order, and were appended at the beginning or end of a Bible, or were compiled in separate books.³ They thus constituted Massoretic lexicons.

One such lexicon (in the form of a separate book) has come down to our own time. It is famously known as the *אכלה ואכלה*, a title derived from the initial words of its first two columns.⁴ This work is first referred to in the latter half of

1844, p. 419), identical with the Moses ben Isaac Hanasiah of England, who compiled a book of Hebrew roots under the title of *ס' הישום*. See also Renan, *Les Rabbins Français du commencement du quatorzième Siècle*, p. 484, and cf. Frensdorff's Introduction to the *והננינות* ו*הנקוד* ו*הנכונות*, as well as Mr. Joseph Jacobs in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, II., p. 182.

¹ See Geiger's Article, *loc. cit.* *Schimshon ein Lexicograph*. Simson was the author of a work on Punctuation, etc., entitled *ס' שמישני' או הבור הקוני'ים*.

² Author of *עין הקורא*, a valuable Massoretic commentary on the Pentateuch and Esther.

³ Even the *Massorah parva* was, at times, arranged in this shape. Such a work was the Erfurt MS. (*Massora peculiaris manuscripta chartacea in forma 4 majori—Cod. Erfurtensis*, xi.), which J. D. Michaelis used in the preparation of his edition of the Bible (Halle, 1720), and has described in his Introduction to it. (See also a notice of it in Hupfeld's Article in the *Z. d. M. G.*, 1867, vol. xxi., p. 203, and note 10, and in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, vi., pp. 57-9.) This MS. is now in the Royal Library at Berlin (MSS. Orient., Fol. No. 1219). See Graetz in *Monatsschr.*, January, 1887. It is more comprehensive than the *Massorah parva* in our Bibles. It is a moot question which represents the earlier form of the Massorah—the marginal or the lexical? Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 98) and Frensdorff (Introduction to *Ochlah*) incline to the opinion that the Massorah was originally written in separate books, and subsequently transferred to the Bible margins. The fact that in Talmudic times it was not allowed to annotate Scripture marginally would favour this view. Frensdorff observes (*ibid.*) that the *Ochlah* exhibits the Massorah in a purer state than the marginal glosses, from which he infers that the marginal Massorah must have been copied (not always correctly) from separate Massoretic treatises.

⁴ Its first list comprises a double column of related words, which appear in Scripture once with, and once without, a *copulativum*, and the first pair of related words in this list are *אכלה* (1 Sam. i. 9), and *ואכלה* (Gen. xxvii. 15).

the twelfth century by Samuel Dschamma, in an Arabic treatise on the "Laws of Shechita." Subsequently it is cited by Joseph ibn Aknin in his ethical work "Tibb 'ul-nufus," and his "Methodology"; by Kimchi in his "Michlol" (pp. 112*b* and 163), and his Dictionary (*s. v.* קרב), and by Isaac ben Jehuda in his ס' האשל.¹ But after the middle of the thirteenth century it was lost sight of. The reason of this disappearance is not far to seek. For the next 300 years but scant attention was given to Massoretic learning. The study steadily declined, or degenerated into Kabbalistic trifling. It was probably at its lowest ebb in the sixteenth century, when it received a fresh impetus from the introduction of printing, and the revival of classical learning in Italy.

The encouragement which about this period began to be given to Hebrew letters is connected with the honourable name of Daniel Bomberg, of Antwerp, who, in 1516, established his famous printing-press at Venice. The first edition of the Rabbinical Bible was printed in Bomberg's office in 1517, and edited by Felix Pratensis. It contained some fragments of the *Massorah Finalis*, very imperfectly done, which included the דקדוקי הטעמים of Ben Asher, and the "differences" of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. In 1525 a second edition was produced by the learned Jacob ben Chajim ben Isaac Ibn Adonijah, of Tunis. Finding the Massorah in a state of chaos, with indomitable perseverance he set about systematising his confused materials. He collated a vast number of Massoretic MSS., and so was enabled not only to arrange the Massorah, but even to revise the Massoretic text of the Bible itself. In spite of its numerous errors, this splendid work has generally been acknowledged as the *textus receptus* of the Massorah, the supreme authority to which it has attained imposing upon subsequent Massoretic scholars who may differ from its readings the necessity of accounting for every deviation. In addition to introducing the Massorah into the margin, he compiled, at the close of his Bible, a concordance of the Massoretic glosses for which he could not find room in a marginal form.²

¹ Steinschneider in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1862, p. 316, note 31; Neubauer, *Notice sur la Lexicographie Hebrique*, p. 9; Neubauer, in Graetz's *Monatschrift*, July, 1887 (Neubauer there quotes another reference to the *Ochlah*, from an Arabic fragment of a grammatical treatise); Fuerst, "Introduction to Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," p. xxv.; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, Art. "Ochlah Ve-Ochlah."

² Further, he added to the contents of the Pratensian Bible an imperfect table of the variations between the Oriental and Occidental readings (amended in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible, and further amended in Pinsker's *Einleitung*, pp. 124-132); an elaborate introduction—the first treatise on the Massorah ever produced; and fragments of the רבי הנקוד והננינות of Moses Hanakdan. But he did not include the דק"ה of Ben Asher.

No doubt this was simply an alphabetical arrangement of the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*, though Ben Chajim is curiously silent as to the existence of such a work.

Indeed there is no actual mention of the *Ochlah* till 1538, when Elias Levita described it in his second introduction to the *Massoreth Hamassoreth*.¹ From this time, again, it was lost to scholars until twenty-five years ago, when it was discovered in MS. by Dr. Derenbourg in the National Library of Paris, and given to the world under the editorship of Dr. Frensdorff. Shortly after the appearance of Frensdorff's book, another MS. of the same work was discovered by Hupfeld in the University Library of Halle,² which differed in several important respects from the codex edited by Frensdorff.³

Who was the author of the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*? In one of the last numbers of the *Monatsschrift* (January, 1887), Graetz has put forward the suggestion that he was the famous Rabenu Gershom (c. 960-1028), the "Light of the Exile," and the founder of the French Rabbinical school. That this scholar compiled a recension of the *Massorah magna* (as also of the Pentateuch and parts of the Mishna and Gemara)⁴ has long been known, and codices of the Pentateuch are extant whose marginal glosses refer to his Massoretic compilations.

Graetz's theory has gained few converts.⁵ But right or wrong, his article possesses this importance, that it serves to call specific attention to the influence exercised by the French-German school of Talmudists and Tosafists throughout the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, on the development of Massoretic literature. In addition to Rabenu Gershom, his brother Machir, Joseph ben Samuel Bonfils (Tobelem), of Limoges, Rabenu Tam (Jacob ben Meir), Menachem ben Perez, of Joigny, Perez ben Elia of Corbeil, Jehuda of Paris, Meir

¹ The statement of Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 105), that Elias Levita had not seen the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*, is surprising, considering that Levita expressly states in this Introduction that he gave himself no rest until he had discovered it.

² See his important article in the *Z. d. M. G.*, 1867, xxi., pp. 201-227, entitled *Ueber eine bisher unbekannt gebliebene Handschrift der Massorah*.

³ Several articles contained in the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah* are omitted from the Bomberg Bible, and even in the parallel articles the examples given are not always the same. The Halle MS., which has a thousand rubrics, presents fewer divergences from Jacob ben Chajim's work than the Paris redaction, which has only four hundred. Graetz (see *infra*) considers that the Halle MS. must have been the original work, or a copy of it, and the MS. edited by Frensdorff a revised recension; while Jacob ben Chajim used a recension differing from both.

⁴ Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, pp. 118 and 187 sq. His copy of the Pentateuch is referred to by glossists under the title of *גפר ר' גרשום*. See Ginsburg, *Mass.*, i., p. 604 b and 611 b.

⁵ See Neubauer's criticism of it in the *Monatsschrift* for July, 1887.

Spira and R. Meir of Rothenburg, made Massoretic compilations, or additions to the subject, which are all more or less frequently referred to in the marginal glosses of Biblical codices, and the works of Hebrew grammarians.¹

Next to Jacob ben Chajim, Massoretic learning owes most to Elias Levita, whose *Massoreth Hamassoreth* is a luminous guide to the subject.² The study is indebted also to R. Meir Hallevi ben Todros of Toledo (הרמ"ה), who, as early as the thirteenth century, wrote *ספר מסורת סייג לתורה* (correct edition, Florence, 1750)—a work much prized by Norzi; to Menachem di Lonsano, who composed a treatise on the Massorah of the Pentateuch, entitled *אור תורה*; and in particular to Jedidjah Shelomo Minnorzi, whose *מנחת שי* contains valuable Massoretic notes, based on a careful study of MSS., principally Spanish. Nor would this account be complete without a reference to the Buxtorfs, father and son, who have enriched this equally with every branch of Hebrew learning of which they have treated.⁴ Honourable mention, too, must be made of the encyclopædic J. C. Wolf, whose *Bibliotheca Hebræa* contains a treatise on the Massorah, and list of Massoretic authorities.⁵

Less known names in this department are those of Meir Abraham Angola, who wrote *מסורת הברית* (Cracow, 1629);

¹ See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, pp. 118, 119; Geiger, *Parschandatha*, p. 10; Renan, *Les Rabbins Français*, pp. 452, 459; Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876, pp. 105, 106; *Monatsschrift*, January, 1887; Delitzsch's Catalogue of Hebrew MSS., at Leipzig, p. 273.

² Levita likewise compiled a vast Massoretic Concordance, entitled "The Book of Remembrance," over which he spent twenty-two years. He sent it to Paris to be published in 1536, but for some reason or other it never passed through the Press. The MS. consists of two huge folios, and is in the National Library at Paris. For an account of it see Dr. C. D. Ginsburg's "Life of Elias Levita," prefixed to his useful edition of the *Mas. Ham.* Frensdorff has published the Dedication and Introduction in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. xii.

³ It contains a useful catalogue of the words in the Pentateuch, of which there occur a full and defective reading, with a reference to passages in which the readings are found, and is important, moreover, as showing the state of the text in the thirteenth century.—De Wette, "Introduction to the Old Testament," translated by Parker, second edition, 1850, p. 352.

⁴ The Basle Rabbinical Bible of 1618-19 contains the Massorah in its most accessible form, being less rare than Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinical Bible. In some respects it is an improvement on its predecessor, although it exhibits many unwarrantable alterations. The *Tiberias* of the Elder Buxtorf (1620), while it contains little that is not to be found in the *Massoreth Hamassoreth* of Levita, is a splendid introduction to the subject. The younger Buxtorf's edition of his father's *Tiberias*, and the various works he contributed to the controversy on the antiquity of the vowel points, are all important aids to the study of the Massorah. Walton's Eighth *Prolegomenon*, although differing from the Buxtorfian theory on the origin of the Massorah and vowel-points, is largely a *réchauffage* of the *Tiberias*.

⁵ Part ii., Book iii.

Augustus Pfeiffer, whose immense array of works include a *Dissertatio Philolog. de Massora* (Wittenberg, 1670); J. F. Cotta, author of *Exercitatio historica-critica de origine Massoræ punctorumque Vet. Testamenti Hebraicorum* (Tübingen, 1726); Abraham ben Reuben of Ochrida, whose ס' בית אברהם is a Massoretic lexicon to the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1742); David Viterbi, author of ס' אם למכורת (Mantua, 1748); Abraham ben Jeremiah of Calvary, who wrote ס' סדר אברהם, an alphabetical Massorah to the Pentateuch (Frankfort-on-Main, 1752); Asher Amshel of Worms, author of סייג לרורה, (*Ib.*, 1766); Joseph ben David Heilbron of Eschweg, whose ס' מבין חדות was published at Amsterdam in 1765, and plagiarised from Amschel's then unprinted work; Salomon Dubno, who wrote the first part (Genesis and Exodus) of a Massoretic commentary to the Pentateuch, called רקון כופרים, in Mendelssohn's Pentateuch נתיבת השלום (Berlin, 1783);¹ and Joseph ben Mordecai of Berditschev, who wrote מסורה ברורה, an alphabetical Massorah on the Pentateuch and Esther (*cir.* 1820).

Coming down to quite modern times, the names are all familiar. We may refer to the researches of Wolf Heidenheim,² Abraham Geiger,³ S. Pinsker,⁴ S. D. Luzzatto,⁵ H. Hupfeld,⁶ S. Frensdorff,⁷ H. Graetz,⁸ H. L. Strack,⁹ J. Derenbourg,¹⁰ W.

¹ This list is mainly compiled from Dr. H. L. Strack's article on the Massorah in *Herzog* (2nd ed., 1881).

² He wrote (1) תורת האלהים (Genesis, edited with critical notes); (2) an edition of the entire Pentateuch with critical commentary, entitled המ'ש; (3) another edition of the Pentateuch named חמש מאור עינים; and (4) משפטי הטעמים—a work on the accentuation of the Twenty-one Books.

³ *Urschrift, Parschandatha*, and several articles referred to in this paper. His *Zur Geschichte der Massorah* in the 3rd volume of the *Jüdische Zeitschrift* is the most important monograph, giving a connected history of the Massorah from early times, with which I am acquainted; and it is upon the basis of that essay that this paper has been written.

⁴ *Einleitung* and *Lekuté Kadmonioth*.

⁵ *Dialogues, Prolegomeni*, and various contributions to Hebrew periodicals.

⁶ *Commentatio de antiquioribus apud Judæos accentuum scriptoribus* (Halle, 1846), and articles previously cited.

⁷ מחברת המסורה הנדולה; ס' אכלה ואכלה (a new edition of Elias Levita's Massoretic Concordance—1st part, 1876); a critical edition of Moses Hanakdan's ררכי הנקוד והננינות.

⁸ See *supra passim*.

⁹ *Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (Leipzig, 1873)—a maiden effort; Catalogue of MSS. in the Royal Library of St. Petersburg (Harkavy and Strack, 1875); *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Leipzig, 1876); רקדקי הטעמים of Aaron ben Asher, edited in conjunction with Baer (Leipzig, 1879); and numerous articles previously noticed.

¹⁰ Editor of a compendium of Grammar and Massorah, brought from Yemen, by Jacob Sappir, and by an unknown author, which he has entitled *Manuel du Lecteur (Journal Asiatique, 1870)*; and author of important articles previously quoted.

Wickes,¹ D. Oppenheim,² C. D. Ginsburg,³ Franz Delitzsch,⁴ and, last but not least, that *facile princeps* of living Massoretic scholars, Seligmann Baer,⁵ whose forthcoming edition of the Massorah in connection with a new recension of the מקראות גדולות is, even while I write, being anxiously awaited by Biblical and Massoretic students. And with this dry catalogue of names, I bring this, I fear equally dry, paper to a close.

ISIDORE HARRIS.

¹ תורת א"מ"ת and טעמי כ"א ספרים—two works which have placed the author in the front rank of scholars.

² See *supra passim*.

³ "The Massorah, Compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged" (London: 3 vols. 1880-5); Editions of Jacob ben Chajim's "Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible" (1865, and *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1863), and Elias Levita's *Massoreth Hamassoreth* (1867). Dr. Ginsburg has done more than any writer in our language to promote the study of Massorah in this country, and he has spent thirty years on the subject. The fourth and final volume of his *opus magnum* will shortly appear.

⁴ Catalogue of Heb. MSS. at Leipzig, 1838. Delitzsch has been associated with Baer in establishing the correct Massoretic text of various books of the Old Testament, and editing them with critical notes.

⁵ Editor of the Massoretic texts just referred to, and of the דקדוקי הטעמים of Ben Asher; likewise of תקון הסופר והקורא—a standard copy of the Pentateuch for scribes and readers of the Law; author of תורת א"מ"ת—a work on the accents of the three Poetical Books of Scripture; and of a treatise on the *Metheg* in the *Archiv f. d. Wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, 1867, 1868.
